

AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

844
[787] but does not cry or cry loudly, that child "will grow up to be strong." When a baby is obviously alive

Following a normal delivery, the midwife washes the infant in tepid water at once and places it on a soft robe. In some cases [824] a plant (*Parosela formosa*) is added to this water "to keep the child from crying." She rubs a mixture of grease and red ocher [823] over the baby's body to keep the skin from getting sore. Next [788] she strews pollen or ashes to the directions in clockwise circuit [424] beginning with the east and holds the blanket and the child to the directions in the same order. Prayers and practices which mark her individually owned rite accompany this procedure. Meanwhile, others minister to the mother. Particular care is taken in cases of prolapse of the uterus to see that the organ is pushed back into place properly.

844 The afterbirth is gathered together in the robe or piece of old clothing upon which the woman has knelt. With it is put the umbilical cord. 846 These must not be burned or buried. If they are 824 buried and then dug up and consumed by animals, the child is [825] harmed. The approved method of disposal is to place the bundle in a fruit-bearing bush or tree "because the tree comes to life every year, and they want life in this child to be renewed like the life in the tree." Before final disposal, the bundle is blessed by the midwife. To the tree she says, "May the child live and grow up to see you bear fruit many times."³

553 At the time of the birth ceremony a name may be suggested [844] for the infant, often by the midwife. However, when nothing unusual marks the birth or distinguishes the newborn baby, the naming may not take place for two or three months. Even when a name is immediately conferred, there is little reason to think that the child will bear it long.

551 When my daughter was born, the midwife gave her a name, but it did not catch on. Then my wife called her "My Daughter." All the others around 553 our camp now do so too. Later, before she is ten or eleven years old, we will give her another name. This is a Chiricahua custom. The baby name is outgrown. One child, for example, is called "Ugly Baby." But she will not be called

³ One informant claimed that the cord is retained and later eaten by the child, but no verification of this was obtained from others.

846 finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the ceremonies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap [826] around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cradle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

[556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.

I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."

Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.

852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
 756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
 788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he
 may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with
 pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions.
 One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for
 whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
 [823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held
 to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding
 in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to
 hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to
 gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
 cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
 [574] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to
 [601] one informant, a child may later address a parental or grand-
 parental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even
 though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
 occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
 [852] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does
 [856] not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
 [482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
 [492] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead.
 Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle
 strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over
 the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
 789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
 badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle
 751 to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
 [825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
 [753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms.
 [824] To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
 often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child,
 [755] a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
 [784] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
 cradle.

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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote
[825] or dog had made him sick.⁷ One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with
[823] the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote.
[756] They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave
[539] these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith,
[775] Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

⁷ Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.⁴

881 During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

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[539] The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
Is the home of White Painted Woman,
Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
Killer of Enemies has made it so.

881 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hang-
346 ing from the east pole is wound around the others, and the frame-
574 work is secure. Now the women come from the community
kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled
meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an
east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have
[988] been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone
[823] gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of
[261] plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the
Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwell-
ing, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it;
it is his command."

881 After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished.
346 The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs.
533 The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening
[533] is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles
for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers.
The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.⁵

⁴ While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[184] ⁵ The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others—twelve in all—for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

Chiricahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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881 When no more come forward, the attendant places the girl face
793 downward on the buckskin with her head to the east and "molds"
856 her, working from her head to her feet and from the right side
to the left:

The girl is rubbed so that she will have a good disposition and be good. The old women who do it have that as special work. The woman attendant is praying as she does this. She is saying, "May this girl be good in disposition, good in morals. May she grow up, live long, and be a fine woman." The molding also makes the girl straight and supple.

The girls are massaged to give them good health and strength and to straighten out their lives and make them long. . . .

881 The girl rises, and on the buckskin the attendant outlines four
793 footprints in pollen. Through these the girl walks toward the
788 east, right foot first, "so she will walk on a trail of pollen, so that
her way will be fortunate and healthy." The pollen is from trees
that bear fruit and nuts.

881 Next the basket tray, containing bags of pollen and ocher, a
793 deer- or elk-hoof rattle, a bundle of grama grass, an eagle feather,
and other ritual objects, is placed about thirty paces to the east.
When all is ready the attendant "pushes her out to run," and the
girl trots clockwise around the basket and back that "she may
live long." As she runs, the attendant again utters the call.

[198] Old men and young boys run after the girls when they go around the basket.
[782] They pray as they run. Sometimes the very old men do it. They pray to White
Painted Woman. These old men ask for strength, for long life. The young ones
ask for long life or anything good. Any way they want to pray is all right. I ran
like that when I was a boy. I asked for long life and good health. The older
people told me what to do and what to pray for. They say you get long winded
when you do this.

881 At the end of the first run the basket is brought nearer the
ceremonial structure. Three more times the girl runs, and before
each run the basket is brought westward. When the girl reaches
the buckskin after the last run, she picks it up and shakes it to
• [823] each direction in clockwise order, beginning with the south, "to
[751] send to the directions all sickness and disease that might harm
her."

During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feasters are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

She also helps the infirm:

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. (This man has a crippled arm.) I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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headdress have been made with the big star. Against these diseases I use the sound of the Mountain Spirit rattling his headdress as he dances to the fire. By means of it I walk the earth. It drives all evil away. With it I perform this ceremony. With this I walk. That is all.

"They always start to paint the leader first. It doesn't matter who is finished first though." Helpers apply the paint with sticks which have been pounded, softened, and sometimes turned back at the end. Even the finger is used if the work has to proceed quickly. The helper, who has seen the masked dancers of this shaman perform many times and may have acted as dancer for the shaman himself, is usually familiar with the designs. What information he lacks is supplied by the shaman. Often masked dancers assist in painting each other.

Anyone can help the shaman paint the dancers. The shaman sits there and tells them what to do. Sometimes he paints too. When he has several men around, he will have everybody working on them. He will be singing and praying while they do it. I've never asked about this part. They start painting in the late afternoon. It takes some fellows longer than others. It doesn't make any difference whose masked dancers are first on the grounds below.

I painted masked dancers once. I was already painted myself and ready to go out. They were a little behind. I just went over and put the marks on one of the fellows to help out. I went ahead and did it while the shaman was there singing.

During the painting the shaman sings, beating a pottery drum with a curved drumstick. Should these songs not be sung in the right way, "the masked dancer would fall down like a man knocked out by a blow if he should touch another masked dancer down on the grounds." According to one masked-dancer shaman, his songs "call on the Mountain Spirits to give the dancers endurance," and so his dancers are able to "stay in there a long time."

These songs which accompany the painting of the dancers are sung as memory and convenience dictate. The allusions in them are to the themes associated with the ceremony, to the "holy home" where the ritual was learned from the resident Mountain Spirits, to the sounds made by the pendants of the headdress and kilt as the dancers trot to the fire, to the cardinal directions from which the Mountain Spirits guard the Chiricahua against all sickness and danger. The prayer or softly and quickly

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535 On the mask, at the forehead or nose
532 region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise.
825 One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength,
• [823] and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the
abalone."

535 At its top the hood is attached to the horns¹ or uprights by
532 spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked
[824] in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end
[322] this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises
above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is
tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats
looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of
the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which ver-
tical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at
the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal
support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings."
These strike against one another, making a sound that has be-
come a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of
the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the
[822] uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);² red "would be used
[154] only by a witch on a masked dancer horn."

535 The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the
[156] edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men
who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to
sing for the masked dancers.

535 But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further,
755 for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fic-
tion of their purely social function at the puberty rite is main-
tained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a pri-
vate matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

[796] ¹ That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light
[825] of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guard-
ianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[386] ² Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction
from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the
yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the
bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are
painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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ceremony. He got a young woman with it. Everybody knows he influenced her. She chased him all around, day and night, when she was a young girl. He's much older than she is. That girl was very pretty and he was ugly. They think he used butterflies. They say that he has been helping some other people with his power too. I've heard young fellows talking about it.

And they talk about another man that way too. It shows. He has two wives, one in secret. He's not good-looking; he hasn't anything. That's how you know. Some suspected N. of having love power because he had two wives. Some even suspect C. They say he's got a pretty fair-looking wife and doesn't do anything. They say anything about you these days.

They think that the time to perform this ceremony is in spring or midsummer when the butterfly is out. Then it works easier.

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In an expansive mood, one man revealed that in his younger days he was "so lucky with the girls that many said it was love power." He added, however, "I wear that I never had one little bit of this power."

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But there are practitioners who do carry on such ceremonies:

There are people who can make others love you. Their work is not considered a disgrace like that of a witch. If you are a man, you go to one of them and say that you want a certain woman. You must pay these people.

[82]

In the ceremony they use the sun, the butterfly, and water. When they want to influence you, they splash water on you with the hand. Sometimes they have something shiny to flash in your eyes. Sometimes they take a piece of your clothing or your hair—something of yours is needed to work with. They sing to the sun. They think that the sun can stretch a net like a spider's net and catch a person in it.

I had a friend, an old man, who used to boast to me that he had such power. He married a young girl. I asked, "How did you get your wife?" He said, "I used power." I believed him because it looked queer to me. He was not good-looking either. He said that when he prayed to a girl he made her put on the nature of a butterfly. She would then fly here and there, take no responsibility, and have no worry about the future, and so you could make love to her.

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The use of water is especially interesting, for the term meaning love power, while it does not yield to linguistic analysis in entirety, is evidently related to the word for water.

Concerning the reality of a love ceremony another informant said:

There was a man at Whitetail who knew the ceremony pretty well. He died about 1919. . . . The old man, if I liked a girl, could be hired to get her for me. He would sing over the girl for me, and when he finished, the girl would come right in and sit down. Then she would love me forever and never leave me.

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shamans who obtain supernatural power from our planet, the earth is not personified, nor does it appear as a supernatural in the myths.

What attention is given to the sun, stars, and constellations by those who do not claim supernatural power from them is for the practical purpose of computing the passage of time and the change of seasons.

Much more determinate is the place of thunder (or lightning):

This is what I have heard about the lightning and thunder. I don't know what kind of people they are, but they are people. My parents and even older people used to tell me that they were just like humans in appearance. Some of them are good people and some are bad, just as people are here on earth. A good thunderstorm passes over with a good time for all. It does no harm; no one gets struck. But the bad ones go along hitting people, knocking down trees and destroying things. They say that the homes of these people are in the clouds. Thunder People is what they call them.

Lightning is the arrow of the Thunder People. I hear ceremonial songs, and in them they mention the "arrows of lightning." Not in my father's time or my grandfather's time did the Chiricahua make arrowheads of flint that were good to kill anything with. The flints they used are found around and are called "lightning's arrow" or "thunder's arrow." Some people say that they were made by men, but some Chiricahua say that flints like these are shot during a thunderstorm by the Thunder People.

... They are persons and you can get power from them. They have children; they are just like regular people. Any of them can cause you to be struck by lightning. ... The Thunder People send lightning to punish some. Or, if someone did something bad to a man who "knew" Thunder, he could send lightning to avenge himself.

The flash is the flight of the "arrow," and the noise is the shouting of the real person, the one who is back of lightning and thunder.

At one time, runs a tale, the Thunder People acted as hunters for humans and with their arrows killed all the game the tribe could use. Ingratitude moved them to withdraw their support. It is important to court no risk of offending these well-armed inhabitants of the sky:

During a thunderstorm we go, "*pih, pih*," in imitation of the bird called *pih* [nighthawk]. This bird, a speckled one, flies around on cloudy days near evening. It swoops and darts around so fast that it is hard even for lightning to hit it. Therefore, we use its call. It is just like making believe that we are that bird during the lightning, and then it is hard for it to hit us too.

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[789] Another thing to do when the lightning flashes is to make a spitting noise and
[539] say, "Let it be well, my brother, Lightning," or to say, "Strike high, my brother." Thunder you call grandfather when it hits close. When lightning is very close and sounds just as if it is going to tear up the ground, you say:

"Continue in a good way;
Be kind as you go through;
Do not frighten these poor people;
My grandfather, let it be well;
Don't frighten us poor people."

[953] Sickness induced by or through Thunder is frequent, and special practices and curative rites have grown up to cope with such disorders.

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823 Through the mythology an association is established between water and lightning. In most versions of the birth of the culture hero, his mother is impregnated by Water, but in one variant Lightning strikes at the divine woman four times and thus causes her to conceive Child of the Water. Another version, after describing the impregnation by Water, relates that Lightning tests the hero, discovers him to be his son, and later helps him conquer a giant.

Another myth tells of a quarrel between Thunder and Wind concerning their respective abilities. They separate, to the great detriment of the earth. Finally a meeting is arranged, and, with Sun as mediator, they agree to labor together once more. As an aftermath:

The breathing of the thunder created four persons, and these were sent out in the four directions, and they were told that, whenever the earth trembles, they should come to the center. Lightning and Wind used their power to make the earth as it was before, with green grass and the proper amount of water.

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825 The existence of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and natural forces sets the stage for the appearance of the animals of the mythological period. These animals look and talk like men. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, turns benefactor for a short interval by stealing fire from those who have hoarded it and spreads it throughout the world. But, by opening a bag which he has been told to leave untouched, Coyote looses darkness. This is acceptable only to the night prowlers and fierce animals; the birds and the small harmless creatures

756 is expected to cure snake sickness, a horse ceremony is used for
755 anyone thrown from a horse, and a deer rite is employed to bring
825 luck in the hunt. However, the horse shaman may feel that his
ritual can do other things besides procuring new horses, finding
lost ones, and healing those injured in mishaps with horses. The
logic of some of these extensions is not always self-evident.

756 The medium through which supernatural power appears to a
778 person is always considered by him to be "alive" and capable of
active communication with him. But this does not mean that
only animate beings, in the ordinary sense of the word, are con-
sidered as possible sources of supernatural power. Any object or
force of the external world is potentially animate for the candi-
date for supernatural power. Moreover, some object which is
alive and communicative for one person need represent no such
qualities for another:

• [823] Some say that the earth talks to them. They get their ceremony from that.
Some say the wind has life. Some say the mountains, like the San Andreas, have
life. Anyone who gets power from it says, "That mountain talks to me." The
old people tell stories that show that all things have life—trees, rocks, the wind,
mountains. One believes that there is a cliff where the Mountain People stay and
that they open the cliff and talk to him. I have heard old men say that trees,
rocks, and mountains have life.

[827] An instance of the latitude permitted in such assertions is the
[987] case of a man who claimed to receive special knowledge from his
own anal flatulence. This evidently acted more as a sign, com-
parable to muscular tremor and the dream, than as a true cere-
mony. Yet a number of informants have seen in this man's abil-
[525] ity a variety of supernatural power. At any rate he is alleged to
have used it in games of chance.

In spite of such novel developments, the revelations of power
tend to cluster about certain familiar animals, natural forces,
plants, and supernaturals.

There is no definite arrangement of powers in order of efficacy.
Power derived from "a little thing"—an insect, for instance—
may prove to be of inestimable value. And, since the effective-
ness of power depends so much upon the relations between the
shaman and the source, the same kind of power—from lightning,

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the substitution of pollen from piñon, oak, pine, sunflower, or, in later days, corn.

Besides the substances and objects already mentioned as ceremonial gifts to the shaman, many others, supplied by the shaman himself, may be used in the rite. Some of these are: white clay, red ocher, coral, rock crystal, opal, jasper, gypsum, snakeweed, grama grass, the bezoar, the enema tube, and a decorated "age staff" upon which the shaman leans during his songs.

After all have come together, the shaman rolls a cigarette and blows smoke to the four directions:

He smokes ceremonially, sends the smoke up. First he puffs to the four directions. As he blows smoke to each direction he says, "May it be well." He might say as he smokes, "There are good and evil on this earth. We live in the midst of it. Let all be living in peace. I want nothing to harm us. We only want food and other good things."

An impromptu prayer calling upon the power source for aid is likely to follow the ceremonial cigarette:

This woman is in poor health. I want her to live. She has been searching for something good. This evening I hope that what is wrong with her life will disappear and that she will have a good life. Now I am going to tell you something. You must do right now what you promised me to do. Your power must go into the life of this poor woman.

At this juncture, that the patient by his belief and the audience by their "good thoughts" may please the power source and insure its co-operation, the shaman may describe the acquisition of his ceremony and its virtues. Another gesture implying faith is the reciprocal marking of the shaman and the patient with a sacred substance. Pollen is most often so used, but specular iron ore, red ocher, or white clay may be substituted. "Every shaman is known by his individual way of using pollen. Some put it to the four directions and up and down, some around the back of the neck and on the shoulders of the patient. Each man keeps his own way." The shaman may even mark everyone present in like manner, drawing the entire gathering into a spiritual brotherhood. The pollen, like all ceremonial objects or substances employed in the ritual, is held first to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east, and then moved in a sunwise circuit.

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

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755 Some shamans next seek to learn whether they will be able to relieve the patient. One ceremonialist has, in recent times, looked at the sick person through a black silk handkerchief to determine this. Another draws the moon or a star with pollen on the palm of his right hand, and figures appear for him which permit him to prophesy concerning the outcome.

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[462] To determine the cause of the ailment and to learn what he must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he attracts the attention of the guardian spirit with whom the songs and prayers originated. He may sing without musical accompaniment, or he may beat time with a curved drumstick on the pottery drum that has been thus described:

Women make the pot. Men fix it to sing with and make the drumstick. The drum is a piece of buckskin stretched over a clay pot. Water and four pieces of charcoal, each the size of the end of my thumb, are put in. The charcoal is required for a ceremony. It makes the sound good too. The water is to keep the buckskin damp. The buckskin is wet and stretched over the mouth of the pot. It takes several men [to fix the buckskin in place]. It is sounded until it is right and then tied. Then four little holes are made in the buckskin. If this is not done, it will not be much of a drum. It helps the sound and is of ceremonial importance too. The drumstick is made of any kind of green wood that can be bent. Oak is sometimes used for it.

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Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle of some kind. Rattles of eagle claws and mountain-goat hooves have been mentioned for shamanistic rites. Occasionally, the shaman has an assistant who drums for him and aids him throughout the rite.

756 The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony.

755 The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the

[533] need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided

[782] into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations

of color and direction. The traditional color-directional association

[822] which is found in the mythology is black for the east,

[823] blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north.

Shamans take repeated liberties with this scheme, but for any one rite internal consistency is maintained. It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or

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When a person has a special ceremony, from Lightning, for instance, he will pray directly to Lightning and will not call on Life Giver. But many feel that Life Giver is answering through this other source. Life Giver is an old conception." The very old Indians pray this way. Some old Indians who don't know the first thing about Christianity the way the preacher speaks of it, pray this way. . . . We think of Life Giver as a spirit of no particular sex. We do not attribute deeds to Life Giver. No pollen would be thrown to Life Giver.

Child of the Water figures prominently in religious traditions and ritual. However, it is believed that his work was largely completed when he departed from earth. Though he once busied himself prodigiously with the affairs of man, now he is almost a sky-god, magnificent and rather remote. Occasionally, someone believes that Child of the Water has "talked" to him. One informant was certain that this supernatural was reaching him through the medium of dreams, for instance.

For ceremonial purposes White Painted Woman is the feminine counterpart of Child of the Water, and the time of her direct impingement upon worldly affairs, too, is at an end. Perhaps the most important use of this supernatural in rites now is a symbolic one. For instance, in a certain lightning ceremony the earth is referred to as White Painted Woman. This symbolism proves to be a dramatization of the legend of the birth of the culture hero. Just as lightning strikes the earth today, so White Painted Woman lay down "while the lightning flashed four times and acted as a man to beget Child of the Water. This is why the three are connected, and to this day White Painted Woman is mentioned in the lightning ceremony."

The ideological association between the earth and White Painted Woman is found in more than one context. "In any

"Despite this insistence on the antiquity of the conception of Life Giver, a good guess would be that the present position of this deity is a response to European doctrine. The word that has been translated Life Giver can be literally rendered "the one because of which I live." The individual still refers to his personal supernatural power source by that same linguistic form or a slight variant of it. Life Giver is apparently a symbolization of supernatural power as such, the reservoir from which particular power grants and ceremonies flow. The European influence in this greater personalization of diffuse supernatural power can be inferred from the synonyms for Life Giver, which are Yuan (from the Spanish *Dios*) and "He Sits in the Sky."

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823 political speech or religious speech . . . the world or earth is called 'Earth Woman.' This really refers to White Painted Woman. The real way to say 'all the people of the earth' is to say 'all the people on the top of Earth Woman.' "

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756 A shaman once had a girl impersonate White Painted Woman to symbolize the feminine principle:

He chose a little girl, nine or ten years old, and marked her and told her to come up and give food to the patient. Then he prayed again. Then the little girl picked up the food and first gave the patient the soup . . . marked with pollen and an herb. She picked up the spoon which the man had marked with pollen, but the ceremonial man made four motions with her hand to the mouth of the patient, and then said, "You give him all he wants. It won't hurt him."

. . . The shaman said, "That part of the ceremony I performed where I took the girl to feed the man—she was part of the ceremony. . . . She knew the power of Woman; that's why I used her. Woman, White Painted Woman, is the power I was using. If the patient had been a woman, I would have used Child of the Water [i.e., a boy].

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824 *Thunder (lightning).*—Sage is a most generally used prophylactic against lightning sickness. A spray of it is usually worn during rainy weather, and some is hung up in the form of a cross in the home. Cudweed is another plant for which similar properties are claimed. But, in spite of all safeguards, lightning sickness does occur, and a ceremony to cure it exists.

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[787] I received my ceremony through a dream when I was a young man. I just lay down and dreamed that I heard a voice, and the words of my songs were repeated. The giver said these words of the song in my ear while I slept. I believe that this power came from Thunder.

I have cured boys around here. I tried to perform a ceremony on my daughters when they were sick, but they did not want it. They did not allow me to do it, and they died. They did not believe in it. I performed this ceremony for my son. The white doctor said there was no hope. I said to the doctor, "If there is no hope, I would like to take him home and be by his side when he dies." I took him home and performed the ceremony for four nights. The boy began to get better at once. The doctor was very surprised when he saw the boy around again. He said, "I didn't expect to see you well and around!" This was about seventeen years ago.

My ceremony cannot tell who a witch is." I have no power over that. If I do

[754] "It is a comment on the degree of individuality among practitioners to note that another lightning shaman who believed that most witches were more powerful than shamans said, "The one exception is the man who gets his power from Lightning or Earth Mother. He has control over the witch."

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not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

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The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

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I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

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Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song:

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He in the sky who is holy,
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father.

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

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After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

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I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way.

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I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

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and I go to the person's camp for two nights. Those who want me to work for them have to give me a black-handled knife.¹⁵ That is the rule: without it I cannot work. They give it to me before the ceremony. When my ceremony can help, even though an owl has frightened a person and he is unconscious the first night, he is supposed to get all right the second night.

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I work with ashes. That is part of the power. My grandmother used ashes and nothing else. Before I do anything else I dip my hand in ashes and make a sign of the cross with the thumb and the first finger of my right hand. Then before praying I rub ashes on the patient. I mark the patient with ashes on the forehead, the top of the head, and the breast.

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Then I roll a cigarette. The sick person must puff toward the east. In case the person is unconscious, I do it for him. Then I pray to the directions and send his sickness away. On the patient's head there is something that I can see. I see it that way on a sick person. And I see it on the breast of the sick person, something that sticks out.¹⁶ I paint the body of the patient with pollen, on both shoulders and back, going around clockwise. I say prayers to the directions too. I talk to the darkness [owl].

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In my prayer to the east I say, "Let no one come back from the east to bother this poor person again." I say this so all bad luck regarding the owl will fly away from the patient. Talking to the owl, I say, "You are the one who has done this. Never do this again."

At the south I say, "The downy feathers of the owl must not come back to harm this person again. Stay away from this person altogether, because you are the one who harmed him."

Next I turn toward the west and say, "This person doesn't want to eat. He has something on his breast. Therefore do not allow anybody to come back to harm this sick one. You are able to restore him as he used to be. For your own sake and his, help him to get up again."

I speak to the north now, and I call on darkness too. "Make this person strong. Help him eat again. Give him life again. And never do this again. Let him live to an old age in this world."

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I pray for just a little while, just as long as these prayers last. Then I start the songs. The first song mentions the east and the south. The only words are, "East, in its head, you listen." This is repeated four times. Then I turn to the south and sing, "South, you listen." The second song just repeats, "West, you listen; north, you listen." After these songs everything evil from the heart to the head comes out. The third song mentions the flint cross. I make a low humming noise four times at the end of this song. The fourth song says, "In the

¹⁵ Probably a long black flint or obsidian blade preceded the black-handled knife as a ceremonial present for this rite.

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¹⁶ The materialization of ghost sickness as a shapeless black or white object has been mentioned before. The inference is that this is really the ghost or the owl, and sometimes it is said to assume the shape of one or the other.

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took a gun and shot into the air about fifteen times, right in succession. This was not done with arrows before the guns came into use. I'm pretty sure it dates from the time that guns came in. It may be connected with the shooting over the graves of dead soldiers by their comrades that the Chiricahua saw. Such shooting is not always done, but it occurs quite often.

The close relatives get the body ready for burial. A close friend might help, but it's hard to ask him. A person who lays out the corpse of a near relative does not mind so much, for he is supposed to do it, but you have a queer feeling if you lay out the body of one you are not related to. No particular relative has to do it. All those who are closely related to the dead person feel that they should help if they are called on. It can be men or women who do it. We don't like to do it, but it can't be helped. We are really a little afraid to handle bodies. Not long ago I had to handle a little baby when it died; I had to stay up and see it die. Many try to get out of it when they can.

The body is bathed, or at least the face of the dead person is always washed. The hair is combed, and red paint is put on his face to make him look nice. The dead person is dressed up in his best clothes for the burial. The burial always takes place in the day, on the same day that death occurred if possible. They bury the corpse quickly and far from the settlements--in the mountains, if they are near. They don't want children at a burial. Just a few older people who are needed go.

The best horse, the favorite horse of the dead person, is used. The dead person's robes or blankets are tied to the horse, and the horse is loaded with his belongings. His good saddle is put on the horse. Then the corpse is mounted on the horse and is held there by his relatives as the funeral procession makes its way up the canyon to the place where the burial is to be. As the funeral procession passes near the camps, the people cry for the dead man, if he was their good friend.

Out there the members of the burial party might strike a little natural depression at the bottom of a hill. They could use this as a grave. They wrap the body in a blanket or a hide, put a little brush under it and some on top, and put a few rocks on top if they are handy. Or they put down a layer of rocks, put the body on it, then brush and branches over, then leaves and dirt, and finally rocks on top until there is a small mound.

If they find a little cave or a hole in the rocks, that is used.¹ The body is put on the floor, and the entrance is blocked up with rocks and covered with mud to hide it and make it look like the side of the cliff. They aren't going to talk about the grave and tell where it is. They don't want anyone to know or think about it.

When a cave is not handy, they might scoop out a hollow grave and bury the body in a hole in the ground. A hide or logs would be put over the body to keep out the animals.

The body is always laid with the head to the sundown. The property they

¹ Interestingly enough, there is a term which means both "cave cache" and "grave."

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certain animal's fur or flesh was at its best at the particular time, the Apache was present to share in the harvest.

In former times the country of the Apache was a difficult one for the uninitiated to cross. The lowlands were hot and dry and made thorny traveling. A glimpse of water turned out more often to be a mirage. Wide arroyos and washes, cut by the torrential flows which often follow the sudden rains of the surrounding mountains, barred the passage. The tangled brush of the foothills made progress slow, and the high ranges were a formidable barrier to one who was not acquainted with the passes and short cuts.

The Apache made perfect familiarity with this region in all its aspects an ally to his safety. He knew the water holes of the flats. He knew the travel distance from point to point and, therefore, how much food and water to carry. He was aware of the shortest passes and best hiding places in the mountains. If cut off from his own group, he knew where he was likely to find other parties of Apache camping, and he was trained to endure hardship and to shift for himself in this environment until he could make contact with friends.

But, though the Apache helped themselves freely to the plant and animal life of the lowlands, it must not be thought that they felt equally at home in both the plains and the mountains. After all, they were essentially mountain people. In the lowlands they had serious competitors, such as the Plains Indians, whom they acknowledged to be their equals and even their masters in knowledge of such country and its resources. But in the mountains they felt confident and secure. Here they had their retreats and their cave caches of food supply laid up against need and emergency. Army officers have commented often enough upon the difficulty of finding and besting the Apache in their mountain stations.

For the original habitat of the Mescalero, portions of southern New Mexico may be taken as an example. The west side of the great plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico is a region consisting of isolated mountain ranges and intervening plains or broad, open valleys. Several of these val-

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out. They had pollen and said, 'Stick your tongue out. We'll cross your tongue with pollen and then anything you say you want to happen to a person, like wanting him to be killed, will happen that way.' I said, 'Go away; leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it.' I refused it, and they all opened the door and went out. But the next day the door was locked."³

He said, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it. Take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch.⁴

2. *The Leader Who Refused to Sacrifice a Man to His Power*

This is a story of the early days. This man was a great warrior. I've forgotten his name; my father knows it; all the old men do. This man was a great shaman in the right way, otherwise he would not have done what he did. This man was leading man of the warriors. He had charge of a big group of them. He seemed to know through his power what was going to happen.

One time his power said, "In a day or so you are going to get into action against the enemy. I have helped you in many ways with beneficial power; now you have to do it the way I want it. I want the bravest man in your group. I want you to give that man to me to be killed."⁵

³ Pollen, especially pollen of the tule, is much used by the Chiricahua in ceremonial contexts. The cross, symbolizing the four directions, also appears frequently. Power, either for good or evil, may be accepted or rejected by the individual approached. Witches are usually charged with using material objects, such as the bones and hair of the dead, in their nefarious enterprises.

⁴ This man was most indiscreet to admit that evil power had been offered to him. Witches and witchcraft are so generally and irrationally feared that even to hint of exposure to such temptation may make his friends and relatives uneasy and suspicious. If public opinion ever turned against him, his account may be distorted and used to his disadvantage.

⁵ To control much supernatural power is not always an unmixed blessing, the Chiricahua believe, for power, after helping a shaman for an extended

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The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.¹¹ At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.¹² They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not."¹³ And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.¹⁴

¹¹ Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

¹² The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

¹³ The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

¹⁴ The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

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